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DULLES, ALLEN W (ELSH)

April 7, 1893 -

Foreign affairs organization president; lawyer

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For a number of years public life has engaged Allen W. Dulles, New York lawyer. A former diplomat, as president and a director of the Council on Foreign Relations, he is concerned in 1949 with studying and publicizing the relationship of the United States with other nations. Dulles two years before had acted as a member of the Committee on the Marshall Plan to Aid European Recovery. In World War II he served as chief of the Office of Strategic Services in Switzerland, and following V-E Day as chief of the OSS mission to Germany. As an author he is best known for his book Germany's Underground (1947). He is a partner, as is his brother, John Foster Dulles, in the law firm of Sullivan and Grewell. Both the Dulleses were foreign policy advisers of Republican Presidential nominee Thomas E. Dewey in the 1948 national election campaign.

One of the five children of Allen Macy and Edith (Foster) Dulles, Allen W. Dulles was born in Watertown, New York, on April 7, 1893. His father, a Presbyterian minister, was the nephew of John W. Allen, envoy to England during the Hayes Administration. The boy's maternal grandfather, John Watson Foster, was Secretary of State under President Harrison; he was the author of a number of books on diplomacy. Young Dulles first evinced an interest in foreign affairs, it is said, at the age of eight, when he wrote a fictional narrative based on the Boer war, then being fought. After attending school in Auburn, New York, and the Ecole Alsatienne in Paris, Dulles entered Princeton University. His B.A. degree was obtained in 1914. He then traveled in the Far East and for a year taught English in Allahabad, India, before returning to work for his B.A. degree. This he received from Princeton in 1916.

Beginning a decade of service with the United States diplomatic corps in 1916, Allen W. Dulles was appointed a legation secretary in May when he was assigned to Vienna; a year later he was transferred to Bern, Switzerland. He served as a member of the American Commission to negotiate peace at the Paris Peace Conference in 1918-19. Subsequently he was appointed to the American Embassy in Berlin, where he was promoted to the rank of first secretary of the embassy. Next he was stationed with the American Commission in Constantinople from October 1920 until April 1922, at which time he became chief of the State Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs, with his headquarters in Washington, D. C. During his four years in the capital he was a delegate to two Geneva conferences: to the Arms Traffic Conference (1925), and to the Preparatory Disarmament Conference (1926). In the meantime, he had begun the study of law, and in 1926 received his LL.B. degree from George Washington University. That year he was offered the post of counselor to the United States Legation at Peking, a promotion in rank which entailed increased expenditures but permitted no increase in salary beyond the

eight thousand dollars a year Dulles was then earning. This led to his resignation from the diplomatic corps, which became the subject of editorial discussion in the press on the inadequacy of diplomats' salaries.

Following his resignation Dulles joined the New York law firm of Sullivan and Crosswell, in which his elder brother, John Foster Dulles, was a partner. The next year Dulles acted as legal adviser to the American delegation at the Three-Power Naval Conference and afterward as adviser to the delegations at the Geneva Disarmament Conferences of 1932 and 1933. Seeking a political office, in 1938 Dulles became a candidate in the New York Republican primaries for a United States Congressional nomination; he was defeated by his veteran Republican opponent, John O'Connor. The following year he assisted locally in raising funds for the 1940 Willkie Presidential campaign in which he acted as Eastern director of the naturalized citizens' division of the Republican National Committee.

A number of the clients of Sullivan and Crosswell during the pre-war years were European firms, including several in Germany. Thus, when in World War II General William J. Donovan chose as leaders of the Office of Strategic Services men who had a knowledge of European finance and "strategic areas" (introduction section of Glenn and Daggert), Dulles was among them. Before this, in 1941 he had been sent on a Government mission to "de-Germanize the Bolivian air lines."

From October 1942 until V-E Day, Dulles was chief of the OSS in Switzerland, and until late November 1945 he headed the OSS mission to Germany. As the OSS director in Switzerland, he had an important part in the events, labeled "Operation Sunrise" in intelligence parlance, which led to the surrender of German troops in northern Italy in 1945. In discussing Dulles' OSS task, Frank Gervasi in a Washington Post article (November 6, 1945) described the lawyer's most "amazing exploit" -- the engineering of a revolt in the Italian village of Cassino, which caused a change from a Fascist to a pro-Allied regime and enabled OSS agents to use this border town as a point of entry into Italy and for other strategic purposes. Dulles' wartime decorations include the Medal of Merit and Presidential Citation, the Medal of Freedom, the Order of Maurizio e Lazzario from Italy, and the Medal of the Legion of Honor, rank of Officer, from the French Government. In 1948, the OSS by that year having been dissolved, Dulles was made chairman of a three-man group, commissioned by Washington to survey the United States intelligence system.

While Dulles had been in Germany, he was mentioned by E. V. Stone in Time (March 19, 1945) as one of three men upon whom the United States was depending for advice on the "coming occupation of the Reich." Shortly after his return to the United States, Dulles, in an address before the Foreign Policy Association early in 1946, advocated that Germany be "de-Prussianized" and "de-Bismarckized" but allowed as much self-government as possible. Speaking later that year at the national Foreign Trade Convention, he stressed the need for a solvent Germany. Dulles was appointed in 1947 as one of three consultants to the House Select Committee on Foreign Aid (popularly known as the Warter Committee); according to one source, he was called to London at the conclusion of the committee's survey of European conditions to assist in the drafting of its European aid recommendations for Congress. Later Dulles served as a member of the Committee on the Marshall Plan to Aid European Recovery. In the autumn of 1948, as Dewey's foreign policy adviser, Dulles and his brother John accompanied the Presidential

aspirant on his campaign. Participating in a forum conducted in May 1948 over the New York TIMES radio program "What's on Your Mind?", he stated that two of the measures necessary to world peace were the continuation of the Marshall Plan for four years and the supplying of friendly nations with arms for defense.

In the late 1920's Dulles had become a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, formed by a group of American men who had been active at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. "By study, discussion, and publication," stated the 1947-48 report of the council, "such groups assist their members and the general public to form opinions on international affairs. These opinions eventually help to define the course which the country will take in the slow and painful struggle for an ordered world society." Leaders of discussion groups in recent years have included Dean Acheson, George V. Allen, Mark Harbridge, George F. Kennan, and other prominent Americans and foreigners. Subjects of study and discussion in the 1947-48 period were the Marshall Plan, American-Russian relations, occupation problems in Japan, the Near and Middle East, as well as topics ranging from the problem of Germany to air transport policy. Dulles, who had been made a director of the organization in 1930, was elected its president in 1946, in both of which capacities he continues to serve in 1949.

Dulles has contributed articles to the council's best-known publication, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, beginning in 1927. It was in collaboration with Hamilton Fish Armstrong, the editor of this quarterly review, that Dulles wrote his first book, Can We Be Neutral? in 1935 -- they later collaborated on Can America Stay Neutral? (1938) -- based on a study of neutrality legislation undertaken for the council. As a member of its securities and armaments research group, Dulles also participated in the council's confidential "war and peace studies" program, begun in 1939. When completed in 1945, certain of its preliminary findings were credited by Hanson W. Baldwin (New York TIMES) as having influenced the Government's wartime policies.

Dulles' book Germany's Underground (1947) was described by a New York TIMES reviewer as a story of the entire German underground, "an important source book in which facts, not adjectives, build up to drama," and further as "a basic document for understanding the German situation." A SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE critic commented on the book's "precise and urbane style" and its factual compactness. Introductions to The Hitler Era (1947), The German Problem (1947), and The Unknown Warriors (1949) were written by Dulles, and he has contributed book reviews to several New York papers.

Allen W. Dulles is a director of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and board chairman of the Near East College Association. He was formerly the American member of the International Conciliation Committee under the 1928 treaty between the United States and Albania. A member of the New York Bar Association, he is chairman of its committee on international law; he is also a former member of the executive committee of the American Society of International Law. Brown University conferred an honorary LL.D. degree on him in 1947. For a short period Dulles was treasurer of the Republican (New York) County Committee. His clubs include the Downtown Association, the Century Association, and Piping Rock in New York, and the Metropolitan Club in Washington, D. C. His church is the Presbyterian.

Married on October 16, 1920 to Clover Todd, Dulles and his wife have three children: Clover, Allen Macy, and Joan (Mrs. Fritz P. Holden). The lawyer is six feet tall; his hair and mustache are gray. For relaxation he turns to tennis, golf, and fishing. Once described by a writer as a "judgmental man," Dulles has also been characterized as "scholarly, self-contained, discreet."

References: Who's Who in America, 1948-49.
World Biography, 1948.